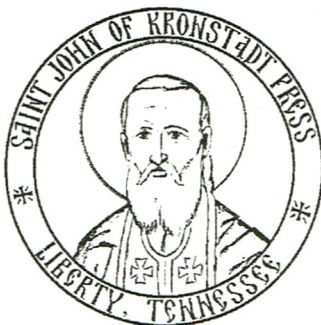

Living Orthodoxy



Metropolitan Cyril of Kazan
As a Young Vicar-Bishop in the Petersburg Diocese

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#113
Vol. XIX #5



LIVING ORTHODOXY

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HIS GRACE, HILARION
Archbishop of Australia & New Zealand
Russian Orthodox Church
Outside of Russia

THE PATH

*I was walking along a lonely path.
I heard a quiet voice telling me to stop.
Though this voice was quiet, it was distinct.
But I did not want to hear.
The path was quite pleasant,
and the air was sweet,
so I did not stop.
Then I walked a little farther.
I felt a little bit of sadness.
But I ignored it.
So I walked a little more,
and there was a stream.
I drank from this stream and thought it good.
A voice urged me not to drink,
but I was thirsty, so I drank again.
Now I saw everything through a blur,
but I did not notice,
So I was not very cautious.
I kept on walking, and then I heard
Thousands of little voices telling me to stop.
I knew not what to do.
The path was nice, but I began to notice
some stones along the way.
The question is —*

Will I stop?

— Rachel Marie Williams

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THE ORTHODOX MISSION TO JAPAN (CONTINUED FROM *LIVING ORTHODOXY* #111)

THE EXPANSION OF THE CHURCH 1873-1882

John Sakai had not been very long in his native province before he obtained permission to make a visit to Tokyo. Instead of returning home from that city, he went to Hakodate in May of 1873. Though he sent word to the officials of the Colonization Commission that he intended to reside there, he received nothing from them to show that they objected to this or were taking any notice of his presence. He was soon engaged as busily as ever in evangelistic work.

At the beginning of the next year, however, the officials of his own prefecture sent a messenger to escort him back. He was brought to the prefectural office and asked why he had gone to Hakodate. To this he replied that, as his wife and child were living in that city, he had found it necessary to go there in order to provide for their support. He was then accused of using the name Sakai illegally. The name was, indeed, that of his ancestors, but his father had "married into another house" and so had taken his wife's name. After his son's birth, the father had left his adopted house. The boy, after remaining for some years with his mother, had gone to the father and, on the latter's death, had succeeded to his practice as a physician, at the same time assuming the name of Sakai.

Since there was some irregularity in this procedure, the officials took advantage of the opportunity it gave for bringing a charge against him. That this was used only as a pretext was shown by the fact that the examiner offered to release him on condition that he would renounce Christianity. Dr. Sakai refused to do this and was sent to prison for a month.

Soon after the expiration of this sentence, Dr. Sakai was again summoned to the office and asked, "Why is it that since being let out of prison you have broken your promise not to preach Christianity?"

"I never made such a promise," was the reply. "Nevertheless, since my release, I have not attempted to do missionary work. When I go about

my duties as a physician, people ask me questions concerning my religious views, and I must make some reply. I could not refuse to answer if they asked about Buddhism or Shintoism; still less, when their enquiries are about Christianity. If you forbid this, I am willing, for my disobedience, to suffer whatever you may inflict upon my body, but my spirit will not yield to such commands."

At a later examination, he was asked, "Why not give up Christianity until the government approves of it? Ought you not to do what it commands?"

"Not if it commands what is wrong. If it ordered me to steal, I should not obey."

He was condemned to eighty days' incarceration. At that time, it was customary to let out the labor of prisoners. Dr. Sakai was employed in the garden of a man who often came out to converse with him while he was at work. Religious subjects were introduced, and the man became so interested that he continued to hire Dr. Sakai from day to day, often inviting him into the house, where they could converse more at ease. The officials said in one of their reports that it was useless to imprison such a person as Dr. Sakai, for while at work he was preaching to his employer and at night taught his doctrines to the other prisoners. Among the latter, he gained considerable influence; they thought him a strange person but could not fail to honor his upright character. When disputes arose among them, he was chosen to act as their judge. Keeping him in prison was almost the equivalent of placing a Christian chaplain there.

While Dr. Sakai was in Hakodate, Mr. Semba, the young man whom he had led to Christianity at the time of his first recall to Tome, was teaching his new faith to the people about him. The Buddhist and Shinto priests soon accused him of sacrilegious acts and had him sentenced to prison for three months, and there he earnestly taught his fellow prisoners. One of the prisoners became a believer and promised that, as soon as he was released, he

would go to Tokyo for baptism. This person, however, was soon sentenced to death for his crimes and became quite distressed at the thought of not receiving the rite that would admit him into the Church. Therefore, on the morning the man was to be led out for execution, Mr. Semba took some water from a teakettle and baptized him. Then, kneading some boiled rice into dough, he strengthened it with threads drawn from his clothes and molded it into a cross, which the criminal wore about his neck as he went to meet death.

Preaching places were gradually opened in different parts of Tokyo and were manned by those receiving instruction from Father Nicolai. Some of these also made visits to Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, and other places; and they reported that everywhere abundant openings for the Gospel were found.

With the increasing number of evangelists, a difference arose in the views of those in Tokyo and those in Sendai concerning the policy that should govern missionary operations. Father Nicolai, therefore, called all of them together for a council that met in May of 1874. Several days were spent in consulting about the interests of the work and in drawing up a new set of rules.

According to these regulations, there were to be two classes of workers, namely, evangelists and assistant evangelists. The duties and salaries of these persons were prescribed; changes in the location of evangelists were to be decided by the Tokyo church. While making the proclamation of the Gospel their chief work, the evangelists might employ their spare time in any occupation for which they were fitted and thus, by their industry, be an example to believers. They could admit persons to the number of catechumens; they were to give lodging in their houses to persons from other places who came with a desire to learn about Christianity. If such a person were poor, he might be fed for three days at the expense of the general fund. If any of the poor students appeared suitable to become evangelists, they might be supported for three months or more from the general fund; and after examination, the Tokyo church could determine the time they should go to it for

further study. Those selected to become evangelists were to be between seventeen and forty years of age, pious, intelligent, and without hindrances from family affairs that would keep them from making missionary tours. Young men between twelve and seventeen years of age, of upright character and good mental ability, might be sent to school in Tokyo; those of them intending to enter the service of the Church were to have their parents' permission to spend seven years in study. Plans were to be made for schools in which children could receive both secular and religious teaching. For the instruction of women and girls, there were to be women evangelists and special schools. Evangelists were to appoint in each church under their care two or three persons to serve as assistants; these were to labor for the spread of the Gospel and the strengthening of the churches, besides caring for the families of the evangelists when the latter were absent on missionary tours. Though local churches were to manage their own affairs without interference from others, the salaries of evangelists in some of the smaller places were to be sent through the superintendent of the district in which they belonged. At this meeting, the fields of labor for over thirty evangelists were determined.

One of the rules that Father Nicolai had drawn up, in about 1869, for the Association of Evangelists he hoped to form was to the effect that when the number of baptized believers reached five hundred, one of the evangelists should be selected for ordination to the priesthood. The prosperity of the Mission's work had been so great that it had justified carrying out this prescription, and the visit of a Russian bishop to Hakodate in 1875 was utilized for the ordaining of Mr. Sawabe as a priest and of Dr. Sakai as a deacon. In 1878, five evangelists went to Vladivostock for ordination to the priesthood.

The most marked progress of the period under consideration was in the section of the country which has Sendai for its center. The number of Christians in Sendai and their influence were constantly increasing. In May of 1876, they took upon

themselves the financial support of one of the evangelists. Some of the other evangelists there were unwilling either to be a burden to their brethren or to receive help from the Mission. They therefore decided to support themselves by labor or trade, giving only their spare time to teaching Christianity. Their withdrawal to this extent from evangelistic labors was regarded with so much concern by the Church that a meeting was held in which it was decided to ask them to devote themselves as before to the propagation of Christianity. Mr. Ono consented to become an evangelist again, though he continued to provide for his own support, being in possession of some property. The others refused to comply with the request, whereupon Father Nicolai sent them a letter in which he commended their desire not to be burdensome to the Church but saying that, while they needed little for their support, it took most of their time to gain that little and that it would be better for them to present this time to God by using it for the benefit of the Church. Some of them finally consented to follow his advice that they accept support from the general fund used for the work of the Mission.

When Father Nicolai visited Sendai in 1877, a meeting of the Christians was held to consult with him concerning evangelistic efforts. A decision was made to divide the city into five parishes.

In 1877, Mr. Ono began to publish what is said to have been the first magazine in Northeastern Japan. The articles—which dealt with moral, literary, educational, and strictly religious subjects—attracted considerable attention and did much to put new ideas into the minds of the educated classes. The evangelists also arranged a course of public lectures that were held twice a month. Though the subjects were largely secular and some of the speakers were not Christians, the lectures of the evangelists often turned to Christian themes, while their efforts in seeking the enlightenment of the people helped to recommend their religion.

In 1874, when Dr. Sakai and Mr. Semba were under arrest in Tome, two merchants from Sanuma were there on business. Hearing of what had happened, their curiosity was aroused to know the nature of the religion that brought upon

its followers the opposition of the officials. In an interview they managed to obtain with Dr. Sakai, they were much impressed by what he told them. After his release, he visited them in Sanuma, which was only seven miles from Tome. Fearing they would bring trouble upon themselves, the merchants were at first very careful not to let others know they were studying Christianity; but, after they became believers, they no longer wished to keep it to themselves and commenced telling others of their new faith. The town was visited by different evangelists, one of whom took up his abode there. The work progressed so rapidly that in 1875, fifty-three persons were baptized; in 1876, one hundred; in 1877, ninety-three.

In 1876, considerable opposition was aroused against Christianity because one of the believers, with the idea of showing the folly of idol worship, dragged an image from a shrine that stood on his land, chopped it to pieces, and then destroyed the shrine. He and eleven others who had taken some part in the matter were brought before the courts and fined.

In 1879, a church building was completed at a cost of some three thousand *yen*. Fr. Paul Sawabe then urged upon the believers the desirability of having the building provided with the various utensils used in the ceremonies of the Orthodox Church, whereupon the women brought their hair ornaments, some of which had considerable value, as contributions toward the cost of what was needed.

Besides Sanuma, several other towns in the vicinity of Sendai were visited by evangelists, so that there were few places of any importance that did not have believers in Christianity. In some places, church buildings were erected and schools established. In several towns, the Christians raised funds that were invested in order that the earnings might be used for the support of the Church or added to the original fund until enough might be gained for a church edifice or some other needed article. In some cases, land was purchased and cultivated by the Christians. At one time, the fund at Sanuma amounted to several thousand *yen*.

In 1879, Father Anatolius, having been appointed Chaplain to the Russian Legation,

removed from Hakodate to Tokyo. After this, other Russian priests went to Hakodate, but none of them stayed for any great length of time, and before long the care of the Church in that city and the work of carrying Christianity to other parts of Yezo were committed to Japanese priests and evangelists. It is one of the noteworthy features of the Holy Orthodox Church in Japan that it has depended so little upon the personal labors of foreigners. Much of the time Father Nicolai was the only one in the country, and at no other time did he have more than five or six European assistants.

As with the Protestants and Roman Catholics, the members of this Church began early to show that they had learned from the second of Christ's great commandments the duty of charity. About 1873, the Christian women of Hakodate formed a society whose purpose was in part to help the poor. Their zeal stirred up that of the men. Among the gifts of that year was a sum of money sent for the relief of those who were suffering from a famine in Russia. In Sendai and other places, there were societies that lent money, sometimes with and sometimes without interest, to members of the churches. Some of the funds were given outright to those who would be unable to repay. In 1875, when the overflowing of a river caused great distress among the poor in Sanuma, the Christians of that place took measures for their relief. Rice was purchased; and at night, members of the Church, covering their faces so as not to be recognized, carried this to about a hundred poor families and gave it over without letting it be known whence it came.

Trouble frequently arose in connection with the burial of the dead. In January of 1875, the father of a young girl who had died in Hakodate gave the usual notice to the officials and told the Buddhist priests of his intention to have a Christian burial. He was soon summoned to the office and told that only Buddhist or Shinto rites could be allowed. To this he replied, "My daughter was a Christian, and so am I. To have a heathen ceremony would be to disobey the commands of the true God, and so I cannot permit such to be performed.

"But," he was told, "Christian rites are contrary to law."

"I must obey God," he responded. "If by doing so I offend against the laws of the land, I must submit to the punishment that awaits me."

Some of the friends advised that the burial should be in a cemetery that had been set apart for the use of foreigners, over which the priests had no control; but the father said that this was something to which a Japanese should not consent and that, rather than do that, he would suffer the penalty that might be incurred by violating the law. Finally the burial took place on a piece of ground that Father Anatolius succeeded in renting for a cemetery; and though the father was afterwards summoned before the officials, no punishment was inflicted upon him.

About the same time, a similar case occurred in Sendai, where the person responsible for the burial was sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment. The relatives sent in a petition that led to an amelioration of the punishment, so that the man was not taken to prison but confined in his own house. In another place, a man was sentenced to prison for forty days; but in view of the fact that he had followed the dying wish of his relatives, he was released on the payment of three *yen*.

The following statistics dated July 1883 show the remarkable progress made in the period we have been considering:

Priests	(3 foreign, 11 native) 14
Foreign teachers	2
Unordained evangelists	106
Believers (including baptized children) ...	8863
Baptized during last year	1391
Scholars	395
Organized churches	148
Preaching places	281
<i>Yen</i>	
Fixed contributions	148.69
School contributions	98.12
Church contributions	4373.39

RECENT HISTORY OF THE MISSION
1883-1909

Materials for writing the later history of the Orthodox Church in Japan are not such as can be utilized to any great extent in the present work. The news columns of the periodicals that it publishes will be of great value to its own historian, but the facts recorded need to be collated by someone so intimately acquainted with the inner working of the Church that he can select those that have proved to be of the most importance. It is hoped that the excellent history (in Japanese), of which earlier volumes have helped in the preparation of former chapters, will before long be brought down to a later date.

In a general way it may be said that, while the Orthodox Church continued to grow in numbers and strength, its rapid progress was checked a little earlier than was the case with Protestantism. Bishop Nicolai continued to be a marvel of executive ability and personal influence; the evangelists were active and earnest, in many places gathering companies of believers; and yet, with the exception of northeastern Hondo, the degree of success attained did not attract much notice from people at large. People who became interested in Christianity were inclined to examine it in its Protestant forms. The relations of the Orthodox Church to the Russian Government doubtless had much to do with this. Suspicion of Russia's movements and of what it might be planning to do in Korea made Russia and everything connected with it unpopular with the young men of Japan. This feeling was greatly increased at the close of the Chino-Japanese War (1895), when Russia took the lead in preventing Japan from retaining any territory on the Asiatic continent and soon after took for its own use the Liautung Peninsula, which had been Japan's most important conquest in the war. The following statement, prepared in 1903 by one of Bishop Nicolai's assistants, shows what response was made to the objection that came from the prejudice felt against Russia:

"From the present political situation of Japan and Russia, since the Japanese Orthodox Church is aided by the Russian Missionary Society, some are

led to believe that the Church is necessarily Russianized and given to Russian forms. This is indeed a misapprehension. Such misconceptions have occurred in every age, and we rather pity those who thus misunderstand us. It will be evident to one who has observed both the Russian Orthodox Church and the Japanese Orthodox Church, that the Japanese Church is not Russianized at all, even though it be aided by Russia. Bishop Nicolai, who is the apostle to Japan, did not introduce customs which were exclusively Russian at all. He only handed down the doctrines and customs of the Eastern Church of the Holy Catholic Apostles. In 1893, Archbishop Deonishi of Zante, an island off the west coast of Greece, visited our Japanese Orthodox Church. The Archbishop is a Greek and belongs to the Greek Church; however, he came to the Cathedral at Surugadai and worshipped with Japanese priests without changing his form of worship. He thus proved by his action that the Japanese Orthodox Church, which was established by the Russian Missionary Society, is just the same as those Orthodox Churches found in Greece and neighboring countries. In the year 1895, Archbishop Gerashim of Jerusalem sent to our Japanese Orthodox Church a holy image, that our reciprocal and harmonious relations might thereby be manifest. This shows plainly that the Orthodox Church established in Jerusalem is wholly like the Orthodox Churches found in all Eastern Europe."⁵

Besides the objection growing out of its relation to Russia, the Orthodox Church endured from others the popular dislike of Christianity. The following instances will show how this dislike manifested itself.

In 1894, an evangelist visited a village in the province of Ise, where there were two converts. The villagers were soon aroused to active opposition and drew up a covenant containing the following articles:

Christians shall be deprived of their former rights in the common forests.

Christians shall not be admitted into our houses, nor will we enter theirs. If it is necessary to transact any business with them, we will stand outside of their houses while talking with them.

We will prevent the Christians from working in the mountains. We will not turn aside for them when we meet them upon the street.⁶

In a village of Akita Prefecture under similar circumstances, Buddhist priests from abroad were summoned to oppose the hated religion; and a document was drawn up pledging the villagers to break off all relations with Christians, not to allow them to hold any office, not to rent land to them, not to furnish lodging for the preachers, and to treat as Christians all persons who would not set their seal to this agreement. There was an attempt to break up the meetings; stones were thrown and blows struck.⁷

In Shirakawa, Fukushima Prefecture, a town of ten thousand, enmity was excited against the Christians because of their refusal to contribute toward the expenses of a religious festival. Some of their houses were injured by stones thrown at them. One believer and his wife were dragged out from their house and received several wounds. Three of the men who made the disturbance were arrested by the police but were soon released.⁸

In places where both Orthodox and Protestant evangelists were working, their relations, though not very close, were usually cordial, except occasionally when feeling was aroused by the converts of one passing over to the other. When the removal was from the Orthodox Church, the severe terms of the prescribed ban of excommunication were not calculated to promote harmony.

In the city of Wakayama, the workers of the Orthodox, the Episcopalian, and the Presbyterian churches, thirteen in number — including four foreign missions — had a society which met once a month. The church members also had an alliance that provided for public lectures once a month. When attempts were made in 1898 to introduce into Wakayama Prefecture the system of licensed prostitution, from which it had hitherto been exempt, the Protestant churches proposed to the Orthodox and to the Roman Catholics that

they should unite in opposing this effort. This was done. Letters signed by representatives of each church were sent out, officials and legislators were interviewed, and a mass meeting was held in a theater with addresses by the Protestant and Orthodox evangelists.⁹

When war broke out in 1904 between Japan and Russia, Bishop Nicolai was in a very trying position. Two Russian priests who were attached to the Russian Legation, and who had assisted him in his work, returned home. The Bishop, urged by the Russian Minister and attempting to decide at once whether or not he also would leave the country, called a council of the workers and leading Christians to ask their opinion about what would be best for him to do. They were unanimous in adopting a resolution in which they said, "We earnestly hope, whatever may happen, that you will not return to your own country but that, for the sake of the Orthodox Church in Japan, you will remain here." This decision having been reported to him, he addressed them the next day as follows:

"I did not make up my mind until yesterday whether I should remain in Japan or not in case of a Russo-Japanese war. If I returned to Russia, I should still have much business to attend to on behalf of our missions; but I have decided to remain in Japan. I am very glad to hear that your members unanimously decided that I should not return to Russia. I believe this is God's will. Especially I felt this today when I was praying during the service. My indecision up till yesterday belonged to my private convenience and not to the public. To say the truth, it is about twenty-three years since I left my native country, and a longing crept over me to return to my sweet home. But thinking the matter over more seriously, I realized that this was only my private inclination and that my public life belonged to Japan where our Church is yet in its infancy. Now I am thanking my God that your members have decided the question for me as they have. And again, I thank you for your kindness and that of your members in offering to provide for my safety in case personal danger should threaten. You say that I need not enter a foreign legation, that you will protect

me. But I think such a promise is not necessary. Our Russian Minister will provide for the protection of Russian subjects in Japan, by either the French or the German Ministers, when he withdraws from Tokyo; and, moreover, the Japanese Government will protect such Russians who have no relations with the war. But it will be necessary to ask for the protection of the authorities for the safety of our Cathedral and all the buildings of the Church. These buildings are the property of the Japanese Orthodox Church; and in case they are violated (which I think will not be the case), your members would suffer a great loss.

"I hope there will be no change in our Church through the outbreak of war. Evangelists must propagate the Master's Gospel; students must attend the Mission School as usual; and I will devote myself to the translation of the Prayer Book with my assistant, Mr. Nakae. And if an Imperial Proclamation of war is issued, your members must pray for the triumph of Japan; and when the Japanese army has conquered the Russian forces, you must offer to God a prayer of thankfulness. This is the obligation laid on the Orthodox Christian in his native country. Our Lord Jesus Christ teaches us patriotism and loyalty. Christ Himself shed tears for Jerusalem. That was because of His patriotism, and you must follow in your Master's steps.

"I prayed as usual today in the Cathedral, but henceforth I will not take part in the public prayers. This is not for the reason that it might be dangerous for me to appear in the Cathedral, but for the reason that, although until now I prayed for the victory and the peace of the Japanese Emperor, in case of war I cannot pray as a Russian subject that our native country should be conquered by an enemy. I have an obligation to my country, as you have to yours; therefore I am glad to see that you realize your obligation to your country. For myself, I will not for the time being serve in the public prayers of the Japanese Church.¹⁰

The decision of Bishop Nicolai was generally commended both by Japanese and by foreign residents. Doubtless, it was also pleasing to the government, since it gave an opportunity to show to

the Western World its unwillingness to have the war regarded as in any sense a conflict with the Christian religion. Another address made by Bishop Nicolai about five months after the beginning of the war expressed his appreciation of the attitude of the Japanese government and spoke of the difficulties experienced by the Church. It will also serve to show us something of his own spirit. He said the following:

"Dear brethren and co-workers: Our meeting is at an unfavorable time for the Church; but from our hearts we give thanks and praise God that through His mercy the Church remains in peace, unmolested, and that its members still maintain their good faith, each worker doing his duty faithfully. We also give thanks to the Japanese government for its kind protection. From the beginning of this war, the government declared that religion and politics or war should not be confounded, that no one should be hindered in religious rites or faith. As you know, this declaration has been kept. Only one or two suspicious persons have disturbed the peace of our Christians, and they have since been suppressed by the local governors. But the protection of the government is only from the outside storm; and if in the inner life of the Church troubles should arise, the government cannot protect us. A rotten boat is easily sunk by the waves; a worm-eaten tree falls easily by the wind. Toward our Church there is at present no heavy storm, but there are winds of hatred brewing by which we have so far been unmoved. No Christians have broken faith, and no workers have left their posts of duty. As the blood flows through the whole body and gives life, we have evidence that just so the mercies of God are flowing through our Church body and that the Orthodox Church of Japan is not built upon the sand but is founded upon the Corner-stone for eternity. Brethren, observe this and know that God has accepted and blessed our little service and rejoices that our labor is not in vain. Is this not a great comfort and consolation to us? Our Church is not only existing in the midst of this troublous time, but it is growing. Of course, the number of additions this year is less than last. The voice of the

Gospel of Peace is drowned by the shouts of war. It is hard to reach the ear, but some few have heard and accepted, and these are precious fruit to the Kingdom of God.¹¹

The members of the Orthodox Church did not fall behind others in patriotism. At the beginning of the war, they organized a society to give aid to the families which were in distress because the chief wage-earners had been called to the army. Teachers and students in the theological schools collected money with which to print several thousand copies of "Japanese-Russian Military Conversations", and these they presented to the war Department.

When, as a result of Japanese victories, large numbers of prisoners were brought to Japan, a new and interesting work devolved upon the Church. By the permission of the War Department, priests with an understanding of the Russian language were sent to all the towns in which captives were detained, and temporary places of worship were set up in the camps. To many a homesick man, it must have been a great comfort to listen to the familiar Liturgy and to take part in the rites to which he had been accustomed from childhood. As the number of priests was insufficient for this new service, several persons were ordained sooner than they would have been otherwise. Much liberty was given to the Russian officers; those who wished to do so could attend the ordinary churches, if there were any nearby. The following report gives a brief account of the work among the captives:

Owing to the war and the special work God had given us among the 73,000 Russian prisoners, our evangelistic work among the Japanese people was hindered. Since our church in Japan is small, we could not comfort the prisoners as we would have liked to do. Seventeen priests and six assistant priests who understood the Russian language devoted their full time to the work. Besides these, the older priests who could not speak the language had with them assistant priests as interpreters. These men conducted prayers and administered the Sacrament in such a manner as to afford the prisoners all the religious comforts of their homeland. The prisoners received the Japanese priests

in all love and respect as if of their native blood, counting them all God's workers. As a proof of their deep appreciation of the work done among them, Bishop Nicolai has received many letters requesting him to extend to these Japanese workers most hearty thanks. Not only these letters have been received, but also presents of very valuable cloth. While the Japanese workers have given their time to comforting the prisoners, they have in return been greatly strengthened in faith by witnessing the devotion of these men even in hours of deep trial. The Russian men raised 11,700 *yen* for Bishop Nicolai's work. They built several chapels where they happened to be quartered and paid all expenses in connection with the religious work among them. Bishop Nicolai gave the prisoners 68,000 copies of the Gospels in the Russian language and several thousand copies of religious and literary books, as well as many prayer books and silver-woven cloth. He also gave winter clothes to sick prisoners. All of these expenses were met by Christians from abroad.¹²

A society was also organized for helping the Japanese prisoners in Russia. Three thousand "comfort bags" were sent to these men.

At a time when Protestant and Roman Catholic Christians were often suspected of being spies in the employ of the enemy, the members of a church closely related to Russia could not well escape being charged by the common people with disloyal acts. In some cases they were in danger of violence, and occasionally damage was done to church property. There was reason to fear that in Tokyo an attack might be made on the Cathedral, the location of which on one of the most commanding sites in the city had long made it an object of popular dislike. The land on which it was built had originally been granted to the Russian Legation, in whose name it was still held; and some argued that it should now be seized as the property of a hostile nation. The Japanese government, however, took care to frown upon all such expressions of hatred. The Cathedral was carefully guarded by the police; and, so far as is known, no serious attempt to harm it was made by the populace.

During the time of withdrawal from the more active duties of his episcopate, Bishop Nicolai was

largely occupied with literary labors. A report for 1904 reads as follows:

In the publication department of the Church, we have nine men who are engaged solely in translation; and besides these, there are three editors of magazines and Church literature. The official organ of the Church is the *Seikyo Shimpō*, published fortnightly. The *Seikyo Yowa*, a monthly magazine, is devoted mostly to sermons and religious instructions for the edification of the Christians. The *Uranishiki* is a monthly periodical especially for women.¹³

This work was under the close supervision of Bishop Nicolai. Previous to this, he had prepared a translation of the New Testament. The Orthodox Church had for a long time used the version made by the Protestants; however, Bishop Nicolai was not fully satisfied with this, partly because he thought it had been too much influenced by the English translation, and partly because he considered its style as too near that of the colloquial language, lacking the dignity that was desirable in such a book. His own translation made more use of Chinese terms and archaic forms.

In 1906, Bishop Nicolai was raised to the rank of archbishop, and Father Andronik, who some years before had spent a short time in Japan as a member of the Mission, was made a bishop. The latter had hardly reached Japan the next spring when his health gave way, and he was obliged to return before he had fully entered upon the duties of his office. In 1908, another bishop was sent out to take his place.

After the war with Japan, the disturbed state of Russia and the financial stringency existing there led to a great falling off in the receipts of the Russian Missionary Society. This necessitated a reduction in the activities of the Japanese Church. At the Annual Convention held in July of 1907, it was decided to lessen expenses by diminishing the

number of evangelists and students. This difficulty was bravely met by the Archbishop. A statement prepared under his direction says, "Faced as it is by the necessity of attaining self-support, the Japanese Church will rather look upon this necessity as a providence of the Most High which is designed to be a strong stimulus to further progress."

Hitherto, this church had made but little advance in the way of self-support; and it may be that, as has been the case with some others, the lessening of foreign aid will prove a blessing, and that what now seems a misfortune will hereafter be looked upon as one of the best things that could have happened to it at this stage of its development.

The statistics of this Church for 1907 include the following items:¹⁴

Missionary	1
Japanese ordained ministers	37
Japanese unordained ministers and helpers	129
Total membership	30,166
Adult and infant baptisms during year	838
Churches and preaching places	265
Church buildings	175
Boys' boarding school	1
Students in same	44
Girls' boarding schools	2
Students in same	99
Orphanage	1
Inmates in same	54

Yen

Estimated value of churches, land, and parsonages	83,236
Amount raised by Japanese churches last year .	
.....	10,711
Amount expended by Mission in aid of churches or evangelistic work, not including missionary salary and expenses	55,279

⁵ *Christian Movement in Japan*, II, p. 189.

⁶ *Seikyo Shimpō*, May 15, 1894.

⁷ *Ibid.*, December 1, 1894.

⁸ *Ibid.*, October 1, 1898.

⁹ *Ibid.*, January 1 and June 15, 1899.

¹⁰ *Japan Weekly Mail*, February 20, 1904.

¹¹ *The Christian Movement*, III, p. 178.

¹² *The Christian Movement*, IV, p. 208.

¹³ *The Christian Movement*, III, p. 179.

¹⁴ *The Christian Movement in Japan*, Sixth Annual Issue, Tokyo, 1908.

CONCERNING THE BAPTISM OF HERETICS (SEPT. 15/28)

On the question of the baptism of heretics who accept Orthodoxy, the following decree was adopted:

The Holy church has believed from of old that there can be only one true baptism, namely that which is performed in her bosom: One, Lord, one faith, one baptism (Eph. 4:5). In the Symbol of Faith there is also confessed "one baptism," and the 46th Canon of the Holy Apostles directs: "A bishop or a presbyter who has accepted (i.e., acknowledges) the baptism or the sacrifice of heretics, we command to be deposed."

However, when the zeal of any heretics in their battle against the Church has weakened and when there was a question of a mass conversion of them to Orthodoxy, the Church, to facilitate their union, has received them into her bosom in a different way....

St. Basil the Great, and through his words an Ecumenical Council [the Sixth], while establishing the principle that outside the Holy Orthodox Church there is no true baptism, allows, out of pastoral condescension, which is called "economy," the reception of certain heretics and schismatics without a new baptism. And in accordance with such a principle, the Ecumenical Councils permitted the reception of heretics in various ways, in accordance with the degree of the weakening of the heretics' enmity against the Orthodox Church.

In the Rudder [Book of Canons] the following explanation of Timothy of Alexandria is given. To the question: "Why do we not baptize heretics who convert to the Catholic Church?" he replies: "If we did this, a man would not soon convert from heresy, being ashamed of a second baptism; thus by

the laying on of the priests' hands and prayer, the Holy Spirit descends, as the Acts of the Holy Apostles testifies."

With regard to Roman Catholics and those Protestants who claim to preserve baptism as a sacrament (for example, the Lutherans), in Russia since the time of Peter I the practice was introduced of receiving them without baptism, through a renunciation of heresy and the chrismation of Protestants and unconfirmed Catholics. Before Peter, Catholics were baptized in Russia. In Greece, the practice has also varied, but almost 300 years ago, after a certain interruption the practice of baptizing converts from Catholicism and Protestantism was reintroduced. Those received in any other way have (sometimes) not been recognized in Greece as Orthodox. In many cases such children of our Russian Church were not even admitted to Holy Communion.

Having in view this circumstance and also the current growth of the ecumenist heresy, which attempts completely to erase the difference between Orthodoxy and any heresy — so that the Moscow Patriarchate, notwithstanding the holy canons, has even issued a decree permitting Roman Catholics to receive communion (in certain cases) — the Sobor of Bishops acknowledges the necessity of introducing a stricter practice, *i.e.*, to baptize all heretics who come to the Church — only in case of necessity and with the permission of the bishop allowing, for reasons of economy or pastoral condescension, any other practice with regard to certain persons — *i.e.*, the reception into the Church of Roman Catholics and those Protestants baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, through a repudiation of heresy and chrismation.

ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY

by Protopriest Victor Potapov

Foreword

Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy was originally conceived as a series of programs for broadcast to Russia via Voice of America. It was later slightly reworked and presented to the parishioners of the Russian Orthodox Cathedral of St. John the Baptist in Washington in the form of catechetical talks. Many who attended the talks expressed a desire to have the series in print for use as a tool in explaining our Holy Orthodox Faith to those of other confessions. The series was once again reworked, expanded and published in twenty-four installments in our monthly bulletin, *Parish Life*, from February 1996 to January 1998.

Much valuable assistance in the preparation of the text has been provided to the author by the parishioners of St. John's — particularly by Mrs. Elena Cox, and especially by Reader Daniel Olson, who not only critiqued the work on an ongoing basis, but also provided the English-language translation.

My hope is that this humble essay will be of value to all Orthodox Christians and will help them achieve a greater appreciation of the unchanging traditions of our One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

I. Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy

Living in a heterodox environment, the Orthodox Christian ought to be well and solidly informed about his faith in order to be in a position to resist outside influences and to be always ready to give an answer with meekness to everyone who questions him concerning our hope (I Pet. 3:15).

In this essay, we shall attempt to explain how the western Christian confessions differ from the One, Catholic, Apostolic, Orthodox Church.

What is Orthodoxy?

First of all, Orthodoxy is right faith in God; it is that mighty power which makes each truly believing Orthodox Christian unwavering on the righteous and pious path of his life. To be Orthodox means to know correctly with the mind, to believe correctly with the heart, and to confess correctly with the lips all that God Himself has revealed to us

about Himself, about the world and man, and about the tasks and aims of our life in the teaching on the attaining of our spiritual union with Him and our eternal salvation. Without such right faith, according to the word of the Apostle Paul, it is impossible to please God (Heb. 11:6).

Orthodoxy is not only right faith and a right confession of the fundamental truths and dogmas of the Church of Christ, but also a right and virtuous life, founded on an unshakable law: the fulfilling of God's commandments, the permeating of the heart with humility, meekness and love for one's neighbor, the rendering of help to the needy and unfortunate, and the serving of one's church. The Apostle James teaches: "Faith without works is dead" (James 2:26). The Lord Jesus Christ Himself, the future Judge of the whole world, promises to "reward every man according to his works" (Matt. 16:27). The Apostle Paul testifies that "every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labor" (I Cor. 3:8). Here is the Orthodox point of view. Right faith must be expressed in deeds, and deeds must serve as a manifestation of faith. One must be closely united with the other, indissolubly, like soul and body. This only, then, is the Orthodox, the correct way leading us to God.

Orthodoxy is not only right faith and a life according to faith, but also correct service to God. Our Lord Jesus Christ expressed the essence of the right worship of God in these brief but profound words: "God is Spirit, and those who worship Him must worship in spirit and truth" (John 4:24, NKJV). Only the inspired divine service of the Holy Orthodox Church, which is permeated by prayer, has realized this sacred worship of God in truth.

Moreover, Orthodoxy is strict proportionality and correctness in the manifestations of all the powers of soul and body. In Orthodoxy, a proper place is allotted to everything: to the intellect, to the wants and needs of the heart, to the manifestations of man's free will, to labor and prayer, to abstinence and watchfulness, in a word, to everything of which man's life consists.

Orthodoxy is the highest truth and the highest good, and man is created for truth and good. It is good for a man to hold to the truth, and it is evil to be allured by falsehood. This is so in life in general, but in particular in spiritual life, with which the question of our salvation is bound up. In secular life, only a real coin has value, while a counterfeit is not worth anything. An American who became Orthodox writes: "Would a beggar shun a chest full of gold coins sitting on the sidewalk in order to chase a penny rolling down the street? Of course not! Yet, if he does not see that chest of gold coins, he will chase the rolling penny and nobody would ridicule him for doing so. As a former Baptist, I chased many pennies. As I accumulated these pennies over the first twenty-five years of my life, I believed I was getting rich. I was 'baptized and saved,' learned many beautiful songs and sang them with great enthusiasm, worked in the mission fields converting a number of people to the Baptist faith, studied the Bible regularly, went to countless prayer meetings, memorized many Bible verses, and distributed many tracts. Then, I discovered the treasure chest of Orthodoxy, and I realized how poor I really was. My few hundred copper pennies were nothing next to the golden treasures of the Church."¹

Orthodoxy is that faith which in one parable the Lord called a treasure, for whose acquisition a man must sacrifice everything that he has (Matt. 13:44). It is the pearl, for whose acquisition the merchant "sold all that he had" (Matt. 13:46).

If we would accept with all our soul that our faith is higher and dearer to us than everything in the world, then our whole life would be illumined by another light and would receive another appearance and form.

At the Liturgy, the sacred minister's words, "Let us love one another that with one mind we may confess!" precede the Symbol of the Faith. This signifies: "Let us love one another that we may express unity in our faith!" After these words, in antiquity, at the Liturgy, as a sign of peace and love for one another, all the Christians would kiss. Now, parishioners kiss only on Pascha, while only the sacred ministers in the altar always kiss at each Liturgy.

Our Christian like-mindedness is indissolubly bound up with how we relate to one another. If we love one another and constitute a brotherly unity, then our faith will also be identical and collective. But if we spurn one another, this signifies that our faith also will not be common and like-minded, and then the common singing of the Symbol of the Faith will be something false, only formal and dead, but not real and conscious.

This ensues from the inner content of the Symbol of the Faith. For both the content of the Symbol of the Faith and the history of Orthodoxy come down to the revelation of the Holy Trinity received by us — therein lies the whole essence of Christianity, the essence of its theology and life in Christ. The Symbol of the Faith speaks of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, that is, of the one Lord, threefold in Persons; and the history of the Church tells how this faith was explained, became stronger, and, in the year 787, at the Seventh Œcumenical Council, finally triumphed, having passed through numerous grave and painful trials.

Christianity is founded on faith in the Holy Trinity. Therein lies its distinction from all of the other religions of the world. This distinction is so enormous, of such incredible significance, that, properly speaking, it does not permit Christianity to be placed alongside other religions. Christianity is not one of numerous religions; Christianity is something completely special, not like anything else: in Christ, through the Divine Incarnation, something entirely exceptional and unprecedented was revealed to the world. That which no one before had thought about, nor could think about, was revealed. It was revealed that God could become man in order to teach, enlighten, resurrect, deify and bring him to Himself. Through the Lord Jesus Christ, through His incarnation and His sacrifice, it was revealed to us that God is Love and that the one God is **threefold in Persons**, that at the basis of all existence is **triunity**, that the essence of everything consists not in egotistical withdrawal into oneself, but in Triunity — that is to say, in the interrelations of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, in Their Love. To say, "God is threefold in Persons," is the

same as saying, "God is Love" (I John 4:8); it is the same as thinking, while making the sign of the Cross with three fingers, that the Divine Trinity so loves man that for his salvation God the Father sends His Only-begotten Son to the Cross.

Our faith, that is, our theology of the Holy Life-originating Trinity, is manifested in our Christian life. Christian faith is not some abstract philosophy or theory, but life, based on love, according to the image of the Most Holy Trinity. A Christian, who confesses his faith in the Holy Trinity, manifests it not by egotistically withdrawing into himself, but by going out of himself unto other men. Christian faith is expressed in the relations of a Christian toward his brother. Christian faith and Christian life are not withdrawn into themselves, but are collective according to the image of the Holy Trinity. The Christian individual is not alone, but is found in a union of love. It is not for naught that an ancient church tradition, described in one of Leo Tolstoy's stories, says that three hermits on a forsaken island in the sea saved themselves and attained sanctity, confessing only this one truth in a prayer which they repeated: "Three of You. Three of us. Have mercy on us!"

In the life of Christians, Orthodoxy, with its faith in the Holy Trinity, is tested in their love for one another. The Triune God is Love, "and he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him" (I John 4:16). "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one" (I John 5:7). It needs to be repeated endlessly that our Orthodox faith, that is, our Trinitarian theology, is not at all theory, not abstract thought, not philosophical invention, but life and practice: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?" (I John 4:20).

II. Western Theology.

Now it behooves us to begin our investigation of the doctrinal differences between the Christian East and the West.

First of all, it is imperative for us to understand the main cultural and psychological peculiarities in

which the theology of the West developed. This will help us to evaluate better the extent of the errors of the Roman Catholic and Protestant confessions in comparison with the apostolic and patristic teaching of the Orthodox Church.

We shall call upon the well-known Greek ecclesiastical writer, Dr. Alexander Kalomiros, for help and turn to his remarkable work, *The River of Fire*.²

At the beginning of his article, Kalomiros poses such questions: "...what was the instrument of the devil's slandering of God? What means did he use in order to convince humanity, in order to pervert human thought?"³ The author answers: "He used 'theology.' He first introduced a slight alteration in theology which, once it was accepted, he managed to increase more and more to the degree that Christianity became completely unrecognizable. This is what we call 'Western theology.'"⁴

Further on in the article, *The River of Fire*, Dr. Kalomiros writes that Western theology's "principle characteristic is that it considers God as the real cause of all evil."⁵ The author notes that "...Catholics and most Protestants consider death as a punishment from God."⁶ According to this teaching, "God considered all men guilty of Adam's sin and punished them by death, that is by cutting them away from Himself; depriving them of His life-giving energy, and so killing them spiritually at first and later bodily, by some sort of spiritual starvation."⁷

Dr. Kalomiros writes further:

Some Protestants consider death not as a punishment but as something natural. But is not God the creator of all natural things? So in both cases, God — for them — is the real cause of death.

(...)

The "God" of the West is an offended and angry God, full of wrath for the disobedience of men, who desires in His destructive passion to torment all humanity unto eternity for their sins, unless He receives an infinite satisfaction for His offended pride.

What is the Western dogma of salvation? Did not God kill God in order to satisfy His pride, which the Westerners euphemistically call justice?⁸

Western theology teaches that "salvation...is to be saved from the hands of God!"⁹

This juridical conception of God, this completely distorted interpretation of God's justice, was nothing else than the projection of human passions on theology. It was a return to the pagan process of humanizing God and deifying man. Men are vexed and angered when not taken seriously and consider it a humiliation which only vengeance can remove, whether it is by crime or by duel. This was the worldly, passionate conception of justice...

Western Christians thought about God's justice in the same way also; God, the infinite Being, was infinitely insulted by Adam's disobedience. He decided that the guilt of Adam's disobedience descended equally to all His children, and that all were to be sentenced to death for Adam's sin, which they did not commit. God's justice for Westerners operated like a vendetta. Not only the man who insulted you, but also all his family must die. And what was tragic for men, to the point of helplessness, was that no man, nor even all humanity, could appease God's insulted dignity, even if all men in history were to be sacrificed. God's dignity could be saved only if He could punish someone of the same dignity as He. So in order to save both God's dignity and mankind, there was no other solution than the incarnation of His Son, so that a man of godly dignity could be sacrificed to save God's honor.¹⁰

Dr. Kalomiros considers that such a pagan concept of God's justice makes God the source of all our misfortunes. But such a justice is not justice at all, the author considers, since it punishes men who are completely innocent of the sin of their forefathers. "...what Westerners call justice ought rather to be called resentment and vengeance of the worst kind. Even Christ's love and sacrifice lose their significance and logic in this schizoid notion of a God who kills God in order to satisfy the so-called justice of God."¹¹

Further, Kalomiros turns to the understanding of the justice of God as it is set forth in Sacred Scripture and to its interpretation by the Holy Fathers of the Church. In the Greek language wherein the Bible has come down to us, justice is called δικαιοσύνη. Δικαιοσύνη is a translation of the Hebrew word, *tsedaka*. This means "the divine energy which accomplishes man's salvation."¹² It corresponds "to the other Hebrew word, *besed*, which means 'mercy,' 'compassion,' 'love,' and to the word, *emeth*, which means 'fidelity,' 'truth.'"¹³ This is a concept completely different from what we usually call justice. Kalomiros writes that the word

δικαιοσύνη was understood in the West the way the men of the pagan, humanistic Greek civilization of antiquity understood it — "...human justice, the one which takes place in court."¹⁴

Kalomiros writes that God is not just in the human sense of this word.

...His justice means His goodness and love, which are given in an unjust manner, that is, God always gives without taking anything in return, and He gives to persons like us who are not worthy of receiving....

God is good, loving and kind toward those who disregard, disobey and ignore Him. He never returns evil for evil, He never takes vengeance. His punishments are loving means of correction, as long as anything can be corrected and healed in this life.... The eternally evil has nothing to do with God. It comes rather from the will of His free, logical creatures, and this will He respects.

Death was not inflicted upon us by God. We fell into it by our revolt. God is Life and Life is God. We revolted against God, we closed our gates to His life-giving grace. "For as much as he departed from life," wrote Saint Basil, "by so much did he draw nearer to death. For God is Life, deprivation of life is death." "God did not create death," continues Saint Basil, "but we brought it upon ourselves."... As Saint Irenæus puts it: "Separation from God is death, separation from light is darkness ... and it is not the light which brings upon them the punishment of blindness."

"Death," says Saint Maximus the Confessor, "is principally the separation from God, from which followed necessarily the death of the body. Life is principally He who said, 'I am the Life.'"¹⁵

"And why did death come upon the whole of humanity? Why did those who did not sin with Adam die as did Adam?"¹⁶ The author replies with the words of Saint Anastasius the Sinaite:

"We became the inheritors of the curse in Adam. We were not punished as if we had disobeyed that divine commandment along with Adam; but because Adam became mortal, he transmitted sin to his posterity. We became mortal since we were born from a mortal."¹⁷

Dr. Kalomiros further writes that Blessed Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, Thomas Aquinas and the other founders of Western theology are guilty of this calumny against God. Of course, they did not affirm

expressly and clearly that God is a wicked and passionate being. They rather consider God as being chained by a superior force, by a gloomy and implacable Necessity, like the one which governed the pagan gods. This Necessity obliges Him to return evil for evil and does not permit Him to pardon and to forget the evil done against His will, unless an infinite satisfaction is offered to Him.¹⁸

Further on in the article, *The River of Fire*, the author writes of the influence of Greek paganism on western Christianity:

The pagan mentality was in the foundation of all heresies. It was very strong in the East, because the East was the crossroad of all philosophical and religious currents. But as we read in the New Testament, "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." So when heresies flourished, Orthodoxy flourished also, and although it was persecuted by the mighty of this world, it always survived victorious. In the West, on the contrary, the pagan Greek mentality entered in unobtrusively, without taking the aspect of heresy. It entered in through the multitude of Latin texts dictated by Augustine, bishop of Hippo.... In the West, little by little knowledge of the Greek language vanished, and Augustine's texts were the only books available dating from ancient times in a language understood there. So the West received as Christian a teaching which was in many of its aspects pagan. Caesaropapist developments in Rome did not permit any healthy reaction to this state of affairs, and so the West was drowned in the humanistic, pagan thought which prevails to this day.

So we have the East on the one side which, speaking and writing Greek, remained essentially the New Israel with Israelitic thought and sacred tradition, and the West on the other side which, having forgotten the Greek language and having been cut off from the Eastern state, inherited pagan Greek thought and its mentality, and formed with it an adulterated Christian teaching.

In reality, the opposition between Orthodoxy and Western Christianity is nothing else but the perpetuation of the opposition between Israel and Hellas.

We must never forget that the Fathers of the Church considered themselves to be the true spiritual children of Abraham, that the Church considered itself to be the New Israel, and that the Orthodox peoples, whether Greek, Russian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Romanian, etc., were conscious of being, like Nathaniel, true Israelites, the People of God. And while this was the real consciousness of Eastern Christianity, the West became more and more a child of pagan, humanistic Greece and Rome.¹⁹

III

The Western Church and the Culture of Rome

The Roman Church was formed and developed on the foundations of Latin culture, which derived from the Roman pagan religion. The pagan religion of Rome was based on the worship of the souls of the dead, and fear in the face of their supernatural power was the main motive for worship. This religious fear imparted a serious and even gloomy tint to Roman religion and led to the instilling of formalism into the Roman pagan cult.

The peculiarities of the Roman state system exerted an even greater influence on the Roman Church. The state had an enormous, an overwhelming significance in the psyche and in the life of the Romans: the main virtue was patriotism. The Romans were able to subordinate all the forces of man to state discipline and to turn them toward one end — the exaltation of the state. In the grandeur and the prosperity of the Roman state, the Roman citizen saw the pledge of the well-being and prosperity of Roman citizens and the peoples of the whole world. Hence, the conviction that the Romans ought to be the lords and masters of the world. All peoples ought to submit and be part of the Roman state in order to make use of the good things of the "Pax Romana" and Roman governance. The requirements for building a worldwide state and organization, a union of numerous peoples, led to the development of juridical thought among the Romans. The fusion of Roman religion and the Roman state system attained its highest degree when the Emperor Augustus and his successors were deified: divine honors were rendered to them during their lifetimes, temples were built in their honor, and after their deaths they were numbered among the assembly of the gods.

The spirit of the Roman people, which was formed on the basis of the peculiarities of its religion and its state system, defined the character of the direction of ecclesiastical life in the West after the acceptance of Christianity. There they were little interested in the dogmatic questions about the Holy Trinity and the Person of Jesus Christ that agitated the East. The Western Christian people, in conformity with its cast of mind, was occupied with the practical and external — the ritual and legislative —

side of ecclesiastical life. It turned its attention to discipline and governance in the Church, to relations between church and state. The representatives of the Western Church were not lofty theologians, but they were good politicians and administrators. In particular, the national traditions that were bound up with the might of ancient Rome inevitably stayed with the Romans even after their acceptance of Christianity. Under the influence of these traditions, the Romans came to think that mighty Rome ought to have the same significance in church affairs as it had in affairs of state. Especially powerful and vital in the Roman people was the idea of the monarchical absolutism of the Roman emperors, which went as far as their deification in the literal sense of this word. This idea of the unlimited supremacy of one person over the whole world became an ecclesiastical idea in the West. It was transferred from the emperor to the Roman pope. Even the title "Pontifex Maximus" — which the Roman emperors bore — was taken over by the popes. Hence, at times, a striving for self-exaltation would take possession of the Roman popes.

However, as regards the first eight centuries of the existence of the Universal Church, one may speak of all these phenomena in the Roman Church only as tendencies, as moods, as a psychological cast, as sporadic manifestations. In general, then, these differences of interests, strivings and psychological cast between the churches of the East and West during the first eight centuries were for the Church as a whole beneficial rather than harmful, since they promoted the fullness of the elucidation and incarnation in life of the principles of Christianity, leaving the Church one. In actual fact, in conformity with their own national peculiarities, the Christians of the East, as was already mentioned, revealed in plenitude one side of Christianity — dogmatic teaching. And the Western Christians, in conformity with their own peculiarities, developed another side of Christianity — ecclesiastical organization. It was required of the churches of the East and the West only that they abide in mutual ecclesiastical communion between themselves and that they not leave the bosom of the one Universal Church.

Unfortunately, the Western Church broke this communion, and in this rift is contained the cause of its entry on the path of error.

IV. The Great Schism of 1054

The breakaway of the Roman Church from the Church Universal occurred in the following manner.

In the year 752, Pope Zacharias anointed Pepin the Short, the chief steward of the Frankish kings, to be king, and thereby gave, as it were, the Church's blessing to the overthrow, carried out by Pepin in the Frankish kingdom, that removed the lawful Frankish king from power. For this, Pepin, in the year 755, took away from the Germanic tribe of the Lombards the lands conquered by them in Italy and delivered into the pope's hands the Ravenna Exarchate, which had previously belonged to the Byzantine Empire, and the keys to twenty-two cities. Thus, the Pope was transformed from a subject of the Eastern Roman (Constantinopolitan) emperor into an independent secular sovereign, not dependent on any other sovereign, with an independent territory and with possession of supreme state authority on this territory.

This rapidly corrupted the morals of the papacy. The inner contradiction between the ascetic ideal and secular authority appeared as a dangerous enemy of the moral purity of the popes. It entailed a radical change not only in the status, but also in the behavior, in the intentions, in the aspirations, and in the *modi operandi* of the Roman popes. Conceit, pride, lust for power, and the aspiration to subordinate all the local churches to their authority, which had previously appeared in the behavior of the Roman popes only as tendencies, as sporadic phenomena, now wholly take possession of the popes.

At first, the popes set themselves the task of strengthening their authority in those Western Churches — the African, Spanish, and Gallic — which did not form a part of the Roman Church. Despite a certain resistance on the part of the African Church, the popes succeeded comparatively easily in securing the subordination of these churches to themselves: great was the authority of Rome in these its former provinces.

As for the churches newly founded in Britain, Germany, and in the other countries of Western Europe by missionaries of the Roman bishop, the popes succeeded in subordinating them to their authority all the more easily, inasmuch as the idea of the supremacy of the pope in the Church was inculcated in them simultaneously with the preaching of Christianity.

The popes, while subordinating the Western Churches to themselves, were simultaneously taking measures in order to substantiate their authority, if not dogmatically, then at least juridically. For this, a collection of ecclesiastical juridical acts was compiled in the West at the beginning of the ninth century in the name of the authoritative Spanish sacred minister, Isidore. Since both the name of the compiler and the contents of the collection, as was later established, were spurious, it has received the name "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals." The collection consists of three parts. In the first are fifty Apostolic Canons and sixty decretals of the Roman popes. Of these sixty decretals, two are partly falsified, while fifty-eight are altogether spurious. In the second part, among other spurious material, is the spurious donation of the city of Rome by the Emperor Constantine the Great to the Roman Pope Sylvester. The collection was first published only at the end of the sixteenth century, and then scholars proved without difficulty the spuriousness of the documents that were in it. At the present time, even Catholic scholars do not recognize their authenticity. But at that time, the collection served as an authoritative basis for the development of ecclesiastical relations in the West, inasmuch as it was accepted on faith and enjoyed the authority of authenticity in the course of all the Middle Ages. The popes began to cite the decretals of the collection categorically in substantiation of their rights to supremacy in the whole Church.

Pope Nicholas I (858-876) began to cite the "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals" first, inasmuch as he first formulated sharply and decisively the idea of papal omnipotence in the Church. But the East, naturally, did not recognize this omnipotence. Pope Nicholas I attempted to subordinate the East to himself in one swoop. But he did not succeed in this. As a consequence of this failure, an church

schism appeared: the first time in the ninth century, and finally in the eleventh century (1054).

The external history of the falling away of the Roman Church is such.

Because of the minority of the Emperor Michael III, the Byzantine (Eastern) Empire was ruled from the year 842 by his mother, Theodora, and by the Emperor's uncle, Bardas. The patriarch in Constantinople was Ignatius (from 847). At the instigation of Bardas, the Emperor confined his mother in a convent; but the Patriarch, who before this had reproached Bardas for cohabiting with his daughter-in-law, opposed this. Bardas secured the deposition of Ignatius (in 852) and the elevation of Photius — a man learned and worthy — to the patriarchal throne. Enmity between the partisans of Ignatius and Photius began. On the advice of Bardas, the Emperor Michael decided to convoke a great council, to which he also invited Pope Nicholas I. The latter decided to make use of the occasion and to come out as the judge of the Eastern Church. He dispatched two of his legates to the council with a letter to the Emperor. In it, he wrote that the Emperor had acted incorrectly, having, contrary to the ecclesiastical canons, appointed one patriarch and deposed another without the pope's knowledge. The Council of Constantinople (in 861) recognized Ignatius as deposed and Photius as lawfully installed as patriarch. Pope Nicholas I would perhaps have recognized Photius as patriarch if he had not seen in him a firm opponent of his pretensions to supremacy in the Church. He wrote a letter to the Emperor which declared Photius deprived of the patriarchal rank and Ignatius restored. In 862, the pope convoked a council in Rome which declared Photius deposed. In Constantinople, this enactment was not recognized, and a breach between the churches began.

The question of the governance of the Bulgarian Church intensified the inimical relations between the churches. In response to the arbitrary actions of the pope and his clergy in Bulgaria, Photius assembled a Local Council, at which he condemned all the Roman errors. In 867, a new council assembled in Constantinople, with representatives of the Eastern patriarchs, which again condemned the Roman errors and the pretensions of Pope Nicholas I in the East.

At this time, the Emperor Michael was killed through the intrigues of his co-ruler, Basil the Macedonian, who occupied the imperial throne and sought support from the pope. In 869, in the presence of papal legates, a council took place in Constantinople, which deposed Photius and recognized the supremacy of the pope and the subordination of the Eastern Church to him. But in 879, Ignatius died, and the Emperor Basil, who at that time no longer needed the pope, restored Photius. In the same year of 879, a council assembled in Constantinople with legates from Pope John VIII. Not one of the pope's conditions did the council accept; and the pope did not recognize the enactments of the council.

From the middle of the ninth century until the middle of the eleventh century, relations between the churches were indeterminate, and contacts between them were wanting, except for rare instances of correspondence by the emperors with the popes. In the middle of the eleventh century, relations were renewed, but only to end in a definitive breach. Leo IX was the pope at that time, and Michael Cerularius was the patriarch in Constantinople. The pope bethought himself to subordinate to himself certain churches in southern Italy that were subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople, while the latter then closed the Latin monasteries and churches that were in Constantinople. For the regularization of mutual relations, the pope sent his legates to Constantinople, who behaved rudely and haughtily towards the patriarch. Archimandrite Arsenius, in "The Chronicle of Church Events," describes the action of the papal legates thus:

And so, the papal legates, "having become bored by the opposition of the patriarch," as they said, decide on a most insolent action. On the 15th of July, they entered the Church of Hagia Sophia, and, while the clergy were preparing for the service at the third hour of the day on Saturday, they laid a bull of excommunication on the main altar in full view of the clergy and people present. Going out thence, they shook off even the dust from their feet as a testimony against them, according to the words of the Gospel (Luke 9:5), exclaiming: "Let God see and judge." Thus does Cardinal Humbert himself portray the deed. In the bull of excommunication, it was said

incidentally: "As for the pillars of the Empire and the honorable, wise citizenry, the city (that is, Constantinople) is most Christian and Orthodox. But as for Michael, who is illegitimately called patriarch, and the champions of his stupidity, innumerable weeds of heresies are dispersed in it... Let them be anathema, let them be anathema — maranatha (1 Cor. 16:22). Amen." After this, and in the presence of the emperor and his grandees, they orally pronounced: "Whosoever obstinately begins to oppose the faith of the holy Roman and apostolic throne and its sacrificial offering, let him be anathema, let him be anathema — maranatha (that is, let him be excommunicated and let him perish at the coming of the Lord) and let him not be considered a Catholic Christian, but a heretical Prozymite (that is, those who do not accept unleavened bread and prefer leavened bread). So be it, so be it, so be it." The insolence of the papal legates stirred up the whole population of the capital against them; only thanks to the emperor, who esteemed their position as emissaries, were they able to depart freely.²⁰

In response, a Constantinopolitan council gave the papal legates over to anathema. From this time, the pope ceased to be commemorated in all the Eastern Churches at the divine services.

Thus, the causes of the church schism in the ninth and eleventh centuries were one and the same: the illegal pretensions of the popes to subordinate all the local churches to their authority, with the simultaneous, as we shall see below, deviations of the Roman popes from Orthodoxy in matters dogmatical, canonical and ritual. Therein is the essence of the events, while those factual events, which served as the concrete reason for the breach, happened by simple chance. It was not a matter of individual facts, but the whole aggregate of the ideas and aspirations of the Roman popes of that time. The spirit of lust for power begat the idea of a great and dangerous untruth — the unlimited sovereignty of the popes over the whole Universal Church. This subordination of the papacy to a sinful principle occurred only from the ninth century. But when the Roman popes in the ninth century first formulated their pretensions, they did not present them as innovations; on the contrary, they naturally strove to prove that their authority was a right, recognized everywhere and always in the Universal Church.

Thus, from the ninth century, the Eastern and Western Churches have gone along different paths. The appellations which they themselves have appropriated for themselves speak of the aims pursued by them: the Eastern Church began to call herself "orthodox," underscoring thereby that her main aim is to preserve the Christian faith unharmed. The Western Church began to call herself "catholic" ("universal"), underscoring thereby that her main aim is the unification of the whole Christian world under the authority of the Roman pope.

V. The "Filioque"

From the earliest times, the Church, in her teaching on the interrelationships of the Persons of the Holy Trinity, has taught that the Third Person of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Spirit, preëternally proceeds only from the First Person of the Holy Trinity—God the Father. This teaching was based on Christ's words that the Holy Spirit "proceedeth from the Father" (John 15:26). This doctrinal formula was inserted into the Symbol of Faith at the Second Œcumenical Council (381). After that, this Council, and also both the Third and Fourth Œcumenical Councils, having confirmed the truthness of the Symbol of Faith, forbade any additions to be made to the Nicæo-Constantinopolitan Symbol. However, in 589, at a local Spanish council in Toledo, an addition was made to the Symbol of Faith, according to which the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father, but also from the Son (*qui a Patre Filioque procedit*). This insertion became known as the "Filioque," and subsequently became one of the main causes of Western Christianity's departure from Orthodoxy.

It was decided at the Toledo Council of the Spanish Church to unite to the Church the West Goths, who confessed the Arian heresy, and this circumstance served as the occasion for this addition. Since the teaching on the inequality of the Son with the Father was the fundamental point of the Arian heresy, the Spanish theologians at the Toledo Council, insisting on the full equality of the Son and the Father, decided to place the Son also in the same relation to the Holy Spirit as the Father is to Him; that is, they said that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In the

seventh and eighth centuries, the addition of the Filioque to the Symbol of Faith spread in the Frankish churches. At first, the Roman popes refused to recognize the Filioque. Thus, in the ninth century, Pope Leo III rejected the Emperor Charlemagne's request to insert this addition into the Symbol of Faith. More than that, the Bishop of Rome even ordered that the text of the Nicæo-Constantinopolitan Symbol of Faith be engraved on two silver tablets and that these tablets be set up at the tomb of the Apostles Peter and Paul with the inscription: "I, Leo, placed these tablets out of love for the Orthodox faith and to safeguard it."

But in spite of this, the false teaching on the procession of the Holy Spirit also from the Son continued to spread in the Western Churches right up to the year 1014, when the Roman Pope Benedict VIII finally inserted it into the Symbol of Faith.

Many present-day Christians consider that the dispute around the addition of one word to the Symbol of Faith is trivial, a subject for investigation by professional theologians, and does not in any way influence our faith.

As we remarked at the beginning, Christianity is the religion of the Holy Trinity. And faith in the Holy Trinity has a most immediate bearing on all aspects of our spiritual life. For Christians, the dogma of the Holy Trinity is not only a doctrinal formula, but a living and uninterruptedly developing Christian experience. Every addition to or change in the teaching on the Holy Trinity violates the correctness of this cornerstone dogma and changes our faith.

On what, then, do Roman Catholics base the Filioque — their dogma on the procession of the Holy Spirit also from the Son?

Catholic theologians say that the Savior's words themselves, "Who proceedeth from the Father," do not at all exclude the procession of the Holy Spirit also from the Son; on the contrary, they even contain this thought in themselves, inasmuch as the Father and the Son are one in essence, and all that the Father has, the Son also has. The Orthodox Church teaches that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit really are one in essence, but differ among themselves as Persons; all that the Father has, the Son also has, and the Holy Spirit also has, with the exception of personal at-

tributes. But if we assume that the procession of the Holy Spirit also from the Son is intended by the words "proceedeth from the Father," because the Son is one with the Father in essence, then we would have to allow that the begetting of the Son by the Spirit is also intended by the words "begotten of the Father," since the Spirit also is one with the Father in essence. What is more, we would have to allow that the Son, while being begotten of the Father, is also begotten of Himself; and the Holy Spirit, while proceeding from the Father, also proceeds from Himself, since They are one with the Father in essence and are, furthermore, all coeternal.

Catholics cite the Savior's words, "when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth...He shall glorify me: for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you" (John 16:13-14). Catholics explain the expression, "shall receive of mine," thus: He shall receive of My essence, that is, shall proceed from Me. But, in reality, this expression signifies only that the new Instructor — the Spirit of truth — will not preach any new teaching different from the teaching of the Lord Jesus Christ, but will reveal, establish and help believers to assimilate the teaching proclaimed by the Savior.

Roman Catholics further cite the fact that the Apostle Paul calls the Holy Spirit "the Spirit of [God's] Son" (Gal. 4:6) and "the Spirit of Christ" (Rom. 8:9), and from this they conclude that if the Holy Spirit is called the "Spirit of [the] Father" (Matt. 10:20), because he proceeds from Him, then, consequently, He is also called "the Spirit of the Son" for the same reason. But from the context, it is obvious that the Apostle Paul is speaking not about the eternal Hypostasis of the Holy Spirit, but about His grace-filled gifts, which are sent down into the hearts of believers; and since all spiritual gifts are obtained for us by the endless merits of the Son of God, therefore the Holy Spirit is also called the Spirit of the Son.

Bishop Kallistos (Ware), a prominent English Orthodox theologian, who is well acquainted with Western theology, writes:

Latin Scholastic theology, emphasizing as it does the essence at the expense of the persons, comes near to turning God into an abstract idea. He becomes a remote and impersonal being, whose existence has to be proved by metaphysical arguments — a God of the philosophers, not the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Orthodoxy, on the other hand, has been far less concerned than the Latin west to find philosophical proofs of God's existence: what is important is not that a man should argue about the deity, but that he should have a direct and living encounter with a concrete and personal God.

Such are some of the reasons why Orthodox regard *filioque* as dangerous and heretical. Filioquism confuses the persons, and destroys the proper balance between unity and diversity in the Godhead. The oneness of the deity is emphasized at the expense of His threeness; God is regarded too much in terms of abstract essence and too little in terms of concrete personality.²¹

In the Western Church consciousness, the Holy Spirit is subordinate to the Son of God. It is sufficient to leaf through Western theological texts in order to be convinced as to what an insignificant place Catholic theologians allocate to the activity of the Holy Spirit in the world, in the Church and in the life of individual men.

The Filioque places the Holy Spirit in a state of subordination to the Father and the Son, and it distorted the teaching on the Church in the West (of this, we shall speak separately). Every false teaching about the Holy Spirit is a blow against the dogma concerning the Church. Because the place of the Holy Spirit in the life of the Church and in God's plan concerning man was ignored in Western theological thought, the Church gradually began to be accepted as an earthly institution, organized and administered according to the principles of worldly authority and juridical law.

¹ "Plea of an Orthodox American", *Parish Life*, (Sept. 1992), p. 3

² Alexander Kalomirov, *The River of Fire*, (Seattle: St. Nectarios Press, 1993).

³ Ibid, p. 104.

⁶ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid. p. 105

⁴ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 104-105.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 105-106.

⁵ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid, p. 106. ¹² Ibid. ¹³ Ibid. ¹⁴ Ibid. ¹⁵ Ibid. p. 107.

¹⁶ Ibid. pp. 107-108.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 108.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 109.

¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 109-110.

²⁰ Archimandrite Arsenius, *Chronicle of Church Events* (in Russian) (Saint Petersburg: Slavonic Press, 1880), pp. 380-381.

²¹ Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 222.

HIEROMARTYR CYRIL, METROPOLITAN OF KAZAN

Metropolitan Cyril, in the world Constantine Ilarionovich Smirnov, was born in the city of Kronstadt, St. Petersburg province, on April 26, 1863 (according to another source, 1862), in the family of a Church reader. After graduating from the St. Petersburg Theological Academy in 1887 with the degree of candidate of theology, he married; and on November 21, 1887 he was ordained to the priesthood and was appointed to serve in the Petersburg Resurrection church of the temperance society (by the Warsaw station). In 1894 he became rector of the Kronstadt Holy Trinity cemetery church, and a teacher of the Law of God in the Elisavetpol secondary school. In 1894 he also became a teacher of the Law of God in secondary school number 2 of Saint Petersburg. On October 1, 1900 he became superior of the military (or cemetery) Holy Trinity church in Kronstadt.

In 1902 Fr. Constantine's daughter Olga died tragically after swallowing a needle, and then his wife, also called Olga, also died out of grief. On May 10 Fr. Constantine received the monastic tonsure with the name Cyril in honor of the enlightener of the Slavs. Then he was appointed head of the Orthodox Mission in Urmia (Persia) and was raised to the rank of archimandrite. On August 6, 1904 he was consecrated Bishop of Gdov, a vicariate of the Petersburg diocese. On October 31, 1905 he became the second vicar of the Petersburg diocese, and on February 15, 1908 — the first vicar. (According to another source, he was consecrated Bishop of Narva in 1907.)

Bishop Cyril introduced chanting by the whole congregation in the Alexander Nevsky Lavra. Being a monarchist, he did not approve of the revolutionary spirit which burst out during the abortive 1905 revolution. He was a member of the Pre-Conciliar Council.

Bishop Cyril was a close friend of the great luminary of the Orthodox Church, St. John of Kronstadt. In his will St. John asked that he be buried by Bishop Cyril, and Cyril fulfilled this request. In 1908, he was the chief celebrant in the funeral services and placed the body in the coffin.

During Theophany, 1909, it was decreed that because of an outbreak of cholera all water which was blessed for the feast in Petersburg should be boiled beforehand, and that the blessing of the waters should be performed over steaming pots. A church newspaper wrote: "More faith was shown in the firewood necessary to boil the water and kill the germs than in God. Fortunately, however, not everyone stepped away from the anchor of our salvation, and in the same Petersburg the Lord preserved for His chosen ones a single bishop who did not agree to yield his faith for the sake of peace with the enemies of Christ's Church. If these notes ever see the light of print, let them preserve the name of this loyal servant of God and archpastor, for the strengthening of faith and piety in my overburdened brethren. The name of this bishop is Cyril of Gdov. May his name be blessed from generation to generation." Defying the warnings of the police, and in the presence of the Royal Family, Bishop Cyril had blessed the water of the Neva at the St. Alexander Nevsky Lavra through a hole in the ice. The local police, however, took measures to ensure that no one was allowed to take water from the "Jordan".

Perhaps as a result of this incident, Bishop Cyril was transferred to the diocese of Tambov and Shatsk on December 31, 1909. On May 6, 1913 he was made an archbishop. It was on the initiative of Archbishop Cyril that the glorification of St. Pitirim of Tambov took place in the cathedral in Tambov in July, 1914.

Archbishop Cyril spent a large part of his time going round his large diocese. He always appeared suddenly, when he was not expected. In his sermons he showed a good knowledge of the life of the people: common themes of his were their drunkenness, foul language, and prejudice against literacy and schooling. The fundamental aim of his life was the enlightenment of the people in the spirit of the Orthodox Church.

He was very exacting towards the clergy. It was enough for him to notice two deacons talking during a service for their names to appear in the local diocesan newspaper.

He was an energetic, practical person. Once he heard that several severely ill parishioners could not visit the cathedral. So he had telephones installed in their flats and in the cathedral so that they could hear the service in bed.

Archbishop Cyril took a leading part in the Local Church Council of 1917-18. He made a report to the Council on the teaching of the Law of God, which unmasked the antichristian plans of the Provisional Government for the education of children. He was the leader of the Council delegation which went to Kerensky with the demand for the re-establishment of the patriarchate, was elected to the Sacred Synod and was one of the 25 candidates for the patriarchate.

On March 19 / April 1, 1918, he was appointed Metropolitan of Tiflis and Baku and exarch of the Caucasus. However, he did not succeed in reaching his see.

In November, 1919 he was arrested in Moscow on a charge of "counter-revolutionary agitation by means of the distribution of appeals and relations with Kolchak and Denikin." He was imprisoned in the Cheka prison in Moscow, but was released after two months.

Characteristic of him was his attitude towards the Soviet "authorities", whom he openly refused to recognize.

In April 1920 he was appointed Metropolitan of Kazan, and in May he became a member of Patriarch Tikhon's Synod. He arrived in Kazan on July 9, but was arrested again on August 19 because he "left Moscow for the city of Kazan without the permission of the Cheka." On August 27 he was sentenced to imprisonment in a camp until the end of the Civil War, but this was changed to a five-year sentence. From October 5, 1920 he was in the Taganka prison in Moscow in one cell with Bishops Theodore (Pozdeyevsky) and Gurias (Stepanov).

On November 7, while in prison, Metropolitan Cyril was elected an honorary member of the Kazan Theological Academy.

Abbess Juliana, whose particular duty was to supply food and help to imprisoned bishops, wrote: "In about 1919 Bishop Gurias was arrested; he was protector [of the Academy] in Kazan when Metropolitan Cyril was rector. Therefore the Met-

ropolitan [who was in Moscow] called me in connection with sending some things to Vladyka Gurias. As it turned out, he had agreed with him beforehand as to how the Holy Gifts were to be sent to him in prison. For this he gave me a little box with what seemed to be small white pieces of bread, and he said that these should be registered among the other supplies which were to be given. I was upset at taking the Holy Gifts with me, and in general at the idea of carrying them at all, and I told this to Vladyka. To this he answered me:

"What business is that of yours; I am sending you."

"But having thought a little, he offered that I take the Holy Gifts from him early in the morning on the same day when I would be going with the packages for Vladyka Gury in the Butyrki prison. This was done. Soon I was going with packages for Vladyka Cyril himself, but not for long. In 1920 Metropolitan Cyril was in the Taganka prison; in the same prison at that time, perhaps even in the same cell, were Vladykas Theodore [Pozdeyevsky] and Gury. In the Taganka prison the old rules were still in effect: for good behavior prisoners were called or went over to the category of the 'reformed', and they enjoyed certain privileges. In the Taganka prison there were five prisoners in this category: Metropolitan Cyril, Archbishop Theodore, Bishop Gury, Alexander Dmitrovich Samarin and Vladimir Fyodorovich Dyunkovsky. Besides the usual general visits, they were allowed once a week on a certain day to have visitors with the grating lifted. Usually, at the general visits, when many people were speaking with the prisoners through a double grating, it was almost impossible to converse because of the noise and shouting. Besides that, these meetings lasted only five minutes. On the other hand, visits to the 'reformed' lasted for fifteen minutes, and one could even give things right into the hands of the prisoners. Under these circumstances I had to speak with and give things to Metropolitan Cyril many times. When the Metropolitan was in exile we were able to help him not only with parcels but also by furnishing church service books."

At the end of 1921 Metropolitan Cyril was released, and on January 4/17 or 5/18, 1922 he arrived

in Kazan. He was met at the station by Bishops Joasaph and Athanasius and a crowd of joyful Christians. In April the Bolsheviks carried out their requisitioning of the valuables of the Kazan churches supposedly "for the benefit of the starving." However, on August 21 Vladyka Cyril was arrested (he had already been arrested in April) for his involvement with the American Relief Organization which supplied food to the starving. After a spell in prison in Moscow, in January 1923 he was exiled first to the province of Krasnoyarsk in Siberia, then to Ust-Sysolsk (Syktyvar), then to Ust-Kul (Komi SSR) and finally to Kotelnich (Vyatka province).

During this period Patriarch Tikhon, too, was imprisoned, which gave the renovationist heretics the opportunity to seize control of the central administration of the Church. Even after the Patriarch was released from prison in 1923, the GPU tried to persuade the Patriarch to enter into negotiations with the Renovationists, promising that if he did many hierarchs at present languishing in prison and exile would be freed. So in May 1924, the renovationist leader Krasnitsky was admitted briefly into the Patriarch's Higher Ecclesiastical Council.

In the same month, however, Metropolitan Cyril was summoned to Moscow for negotiations with the GPU agent Tuchkov. Since he refused to recognize the Renovationists, Tuchkov threatened to let him rot in prison. But Vladyka Cyril did not give in.

Vladyka then went to the Patriarch, who asked him his opinion about admitting Krasnitsky into the Council. He replied:

"Your Holiness, don't think about us hierarchs. There's no need to take pity on them, they are strengthening the Church. But you must not compromise with Krasnitsky."

Strengthened by Metropolitan Cyril, the Patriarch struck Krasnitsky's name off the list of the Council members. As a result of this, in July Metropolitan Cyril was again exiled, first to Yelsk and then to Perevolok. On January 7, 1925, Patriarch Tikhon appointed Metropolitan Cyril first locum tenens of the patriarchal throne although he was still in exile.

In the spring of 1925, as Protopresbyter Michael Polsky writes, he came "to some dense

forest at which he arrived only after two weeks of travelling in a boat on a river. He was not given anything to eat, he was left to sleep in the cold outside the forest cabins in which the agents themselves lodged, he was dragged by the beard and mocked in such a way that he began to ask for death for himself. He spent a year under the rule of a communist in a forest where there were only two hunting cabins."

During this period, Vladyka governed his diocese through his vicars, Bishops Joasaph, Athanasius and Andronicus.

On March 25 / April 7, 1925, Patriarch Tikhon died. In his will, which was read out in the presence of 60 hierarchs in the Donskoy monastery, it was revealed that he had appointed Metropolitan Cyril as the first of three hierarchs who were empowered to become locum tenens of the patriarchal throne and take over the leadership of the Russian Church until a new patriarch could be elected. Since Metropolitan Cyril was not allowed to return to Moscow to take up the locum tenancy, and since the second candidate, Metropolitan Agathangel of Yaroslavl, was also in exile, the post fell to the third candidate, Metropolitan Peter of Krutitsa.

In December 1925, Metropolitan Peter was imprisoned for rejecting the GPU's terms for legalization of the Church. In the event of his death he appointed Metropolitan Cyril as the first candidate to the locum tenancy. And so the GPU agent Tuchkov went to Metropolitan Cyril and put the same terms for the legalization of the Church to him.

"If we have to remove some hierarch," asked Tuchkov, "will you help us in this?"

"Yes, if the hierarch appears to be guilty of some ecclesiastical transgression... In the contrary case, I shall tell him directly, 'The authorities are demanding this of us, but I have nothing against you'."

"No!" replied Tuchkov. "You must try to find an appropriate reason and remove him as if on your own initiative."

To this the hierarch replied: "Eugene Nikolayevich, you are not the cannon, and I am not the bomb, with which you want to blow up our Church from within!"

When Metropolitan Cyril refused to accept the locum tenancy on the GPU's terms, he was sent back to Turukhansk. However, Tuchkov did not leave him alone. According to Matushka Seraphima Bulgakova, a former cell-attendant of Metropolitan Cyril said that "at the beginning of his locum tenancy Metropolitan Sergius had been firm and uncompromising. At that point Tuchkov went to Metropolitan Cyril, who was in exile at that time, in the hope that the latter, tormented by prisons and exiles, would make a compromise. He even succeeded in persuading the metropolitan to take up his post of locum tenens (he was the first candidate according to Patriarch Tikhon's will). Metropolitan Cyril left his place of exile, but, on arriving in Rybinsk, he stopped and sent his cell-attendant to an ascetic nun [Blessed Xenia] living in Rybinsk, and asked her what he should do. She replied that if he went to Moscow and accepted Tuchkov's offer, he would lose everything (spiritual) that he had gathered throughout his life. And the metropolitan went back into exile."

While he was there, in November, 1926, a secret ballot of 72 bishops elected him as the best candidate for the patriarchate (Metropolitan Sergius received not more than one vote). "And so," writes a Sergianist source, "Metropolitan Cyril was elected Patriarch. But his enthronement did not take place." For almost immediately he was arrested and cast into prison in Vyatka. On March 23, 1927 he was sentenced to three years in exile, which he served in Khantaika, Turukhansk region, in north-western Siberia.

There he heard of the infamous declaration of Metropolitan Sergius, Metropolitan Peter's deputy, which placed the Church in the same position of servitude that Metropolitan Cyril had rejected. Cyril rejected the declaration and broke communion with Sergius. However, he did not at this time agree with the decisions of the so-called "Nomadic Council" in 1928 which condemned the Sergianists as graceless.

From May to December, 1929, Metropolitan Cyril was in exile in Yeniseisk. From there he immediately wrote a letter to Sergius, denouncing him as a usurper who had overstepped the bounds of his authority by instituting a new church policy

not approved by Metropolitan Peter. Although they exchanged several letters, Metropolitan Cyril did not succeed in persuading Sergius to change his course. On January 2, 1930 Metropolitan Sergius subjected Metropolitan Cyril to the judgment of a Council of bishops and removed him from his see, but with the right to serve if the local diocesan bishops allowed it. This decree was to come into force on February 15 unless Metropolitan Cyril indicated before that date that he had broken communion with the Catacomb bishops. However, Metropolitan Cyril maintained his position, and in January was taken from Yeniseisk to exile in Turukhansk region.

On August 19, 1933 he was released and went to live in the town of Gzhatsk, from where he continued secretly to lead the opposition to Metropolitan Sergius. During this period, while refraining from saying that the sacraments of the Sergianists were graceless, Metropolitan Cyril nevertheless considered that those who partook of them knowing the unrighteousness of Sergius' position partook of them to their condemnation.

Thus he wrote to an unknown hierarch: "It seems to me that both you yourself and your correspondent do not distinguish those actions of Metropolitan Sergius and his partisans, which are performed by them in proper order by power of those grace-given rights received through the mystery of the priesthood, from those other activities which are performed with an exceeding of their sacramental rights and according to human cunning, as a means of protecting and supporting their self-invented rights in the Church. Such are the actions of Bishop Zacharius and Priest Patapov of which you speak. These are sacramental acts only in form, while in essence they are a usurpation of sacramental activity, and therefore are blasphemous, without grace, non-ecclesiastical. But the Mysteries performed by Sergianists who are correctly ordained and not prohibited to serve as priests, are undoubtedly saving Mysteries for those who receive them with faith, in simplicity, without deliberations and doubts concerning their efficacy, and who do not even suspect anything incorrect in the Sergianist order of the Church. But at the same time, they serve for judgment and condemnation

for the very performers of them and for those who approach them well understanding the untruth that exists in Sergianism, and by their lack of opposition to it reveal a criminal indifference towards the mocking of the Church. This is why it is essential for an Orthodox Bishop or priest to refrain from communion with Sergianists in prayer. The same thing is essential for laymen who have a conscious attitude to all the details of church life.”

These letters make clear that while Metropolitan Cyril was quite prepared to say of certain hierarchs (the Renovationists, Bishop Zacharius) that they were deprived of the grace of sacraments, he was not prepared to say this — yet — of Metropolitan Sergius, “until a lawful Council by its sentence shall utter the judgment of the Holy Spirit concerning him.” He gave as one reason for his hesitation — or “excessive caution”, as his correspondent put it — “an incomplete clarification of the conditions which surround me and all of us.”

Another reason was his ignorance of the position of Metropolitan Peter — an ignorance engineered, of course, by the Bolsheviks. Thus “for me personally,” he wrote, “it is impossible at the present time to step forth, since I am entirely unsure of the character of the attitudes of Metropolitan Peter, in order to be convinced of his actual views and to decide how to act...”

According to the witness of his spiritual daughter, he once went to meet Metropolitan Sergius in Moscow. A guard stopped him from entering the building, but Metropolitan Cyril pushed by him and went into Metropolitan Sergius’ study. A few seconds later, he came out again. “Evidently,” writes a Sergianist source, “everything had now become clear to him.”

On July 14, 1934 he was arrested on a charge of “counter-revolutionary activity” and was sentenced to three years’ exile in Yany-Kurgan in Southern Kazakhstan. All attempts to find out where he was from the woman who had served him in her house proved fruitless, and ended with the disappearance of this woman, too.

In August 1936 the Bolsheviks spread the (false) information that Metropolitan Peter had died. Immediately Metropolitan Sergius quite ille-

gally assumed to himself Peter’s title of Metropolitan of Krutitsa. From this time, a distinct hardening in Metropolitan Cyril’s position is noticeable.

Thus in March, 1937 he wrote: “With regard to your perplexities concerning Sergianism, I can say that the very same questions in almost the same form were addressed to me from Kazan ten years ago, and then I replied affirmatively to them, because I considered everything that Metropolitan Sergius had done as a mistake which he himself was conscious of and wished to correct. Moreover, among our ordinary flock there were many people who had not investigated what had happened, and it was impossible to demand from them a decisive and active condemnation of the events. Since then much water has flowed under the bridge. The expectations that Metropolitan Sergius would correct himself have not been justified, but there has been enough time for the formerly ignorant members of the Church, enough incitement and enough opportunity to investigate what has happened; and very many have both investigated and understood that Metropolitan Sergius is departing from that Orthodox Church which the Holy Patriarch Tikhon entrusted to us to guard, and consequently there can be no part or lot with him for the Orthodox. The recent events have finally made clear the renovationist nature of Sergianism. We cannot know whether those believers who remain in Sergianism will be saved, because the work of eternal Salvation is a work of the mercy and grace of God. But for those who see and feel the unrighteousness of Sergianism (those are your questions) it would be unforgivable craftiness to close one’s eyes to this unrighteousness and seek there for the satisfaction of one’s spiritual needs when one’s conscience doubts in the possibility of receiving such satisfaction. Everything which is not of faith is sin.... I am in fraternal communion with Metropolitan Joseph, and I gratefully esteem the fact that it was precisely with his blessing that there was expressed the first protest against Metropolitan Sergius’ undertaking from the Petrograd diocese...”

On July 7, 1937, Metropolitan Cyril was arrested in Yany-Kurgan and imprisoned in Chimkent on a charge of “participating in a

counter-revolutionary underground organization of churchmen" together with Metropolitan Joseph of Petrograd. According to Schema-Monk Epiphanius Chernov, Metropolitan Cyril met Metropolitan Joseph in Chimkent, "lived together with him under arrest and received with him a martyric death. In any case, this fact was known in the Catacomb Church in Moscow. This detail was told to the author of these lines in prison by a Moscow priest. Every day, when they let Metropolitan Cyril and Joseph out for a walk, they walked side by side, pressed against each other. Now Metropolitan Joseph was tall, and by comparison with him the stocky Metropolitan Cyril was short. As they walked in a circle, they were always engaged in concentrated conversation. Evidently there, in the open air, no one could overhear them. And these two figures, as if fitting into each other, gave a touching demonstration of the 'two-in-one' nature of these hierarchs. And this walk of the metropolitans was watched by some catacomb nuns from a hill. This was not without danger. It was necessary to disguise it, so that the authorities should not notice this secret signaling.



METROPOLITAN CYRIL OF KAZAN
(Photograph taken in his tent during his exile)

And it came to the point where the metropolitans gave them their blessing at the beginning and at the end of their walk. I heard this detail from inhabitants of Chimkent both in captivity and in freedom. So there can be no doubt about this sojourn of Metropolitan Cyril with Metropolitan Joseph in the autumn of 1937. Both 'Moscow' and 'Chimkent' witness to it. Now there are no traces left of the little house in which the hierarch-confessors were kept. They demolished it when they noticed that the place enjoyed special veneration from the believers..."

When the KGB archives were opened in January 1992, it was discovered that after his arrest Metropolitan Cyril had been accused of leading "all the counter-revolutionary clergy", but that he had conducted himself with great courage and had taken all the responsibility upon himself. On September 23 he was joined in prison by Metropolitan Joseph of Petrograd. The two outstanding hierarchs were condemned by a troika of the South Kazakhstan region on November 6/19, and were shot together on November 7/20, 1937 in Lisiy ovrag, near Chimkent. They were buried in Lisiy ovrag.

Compiled by Vladimir Moss from: M.E. Gubonin, *Akty Svyateishego Patriarkha Tikhona*, Moscow: St. Tikhon's Theological Institute, 1994, pp. 866-867; L. Regelson, *Tragediya Russkoj Tserkvi, 1917-1945*, Moscow: Krutitskoye patriarsheye podvorye, 1996, pp. 559-560; I.M. Andreyev, *Russia's Catacomb Saints*, Platina: St. Herman Monastery Press, 1982; Protopresbyter Michael Polsky, *Polozhenie Tserkvi v Sovyetskom Soyuze*, Novye Mucheniki Rossii, Jordanville: Holy Trinity Monastery, 1949-56; Lev Regelson, *Tragediya Russkoj Tserkvi, 1917-45*, Paris: YMCA Press, 1977; Schema-Monk Epiphanius Chernov, *Tserkov' Katakombnaya na Zemlye Rossijskoj*; Reader Gregory Mukhortov, *Krasnoyarsk*; *Russkie Pravoslavniye Ierarkhi*, Paris: YMCA Press, 1986; *Pravoslavnyaya Rus'*, no. 22, November 15/28, 1991, pp. 5-6; Alexander Nezhny, "Tretye Imya", *Ogonek*, no. 4 (3366), January 25 - February 1, 1992, p. 3; "Zhizneopisaniye Syvashchenomuchenika Iereya Sergiya Mechova, sostavlennoye ego dukhovnymi chadami", *Nadyezhda*, vol. 16, Basel-Moscow, 1993, pp. 235-36; *Pravoslavnyaya Zhizn'*, N 5 (545), May, 1995, pp. 6-8; A.V. Zhuravsky, "Zhizneopisaniye Syvashchennomuchenika Ioasapha, Episkopa Chistopol'skago", *Pravoslavnyaya Zhizn'*, 48, N 8 (559), August, 1995; M.V. Shkarovsky, "Neizvestnaya stranitsa zhizni mitropolita Kirilla Kazanskogo", and "Letter of Metropolitan Cyril to Hieromonk Leonid, February 23 / March 8, 1937", *Pravoslavnyaya Rus'*, N 16, August 15/28, 1997, p. 7; *Za Khrista Postradavshiye*, Moscow: St. Tikhon's Theological Institute, 1997, pp. 567-575)
